largest stores in Siaton poblacion are operated by the Chinese as are the only two bakeries.[63] On the whole, the Chinese do not mix socially with the poblacion principalia (prominent persons).

The Spaniards called the Chinese Sangley from the Amoy word Sengli, i.e., trade.[64] In Siaton and Negros, the Chinese are called Inchek.[65] During the Spanish period in Siaton the Chinese wore their national dress. "They had long black pants which blew in the wind and coiled their hair on top of their heads." At first their stores sold only cloth, ~~such as~~ blankets (coverings would be a better word) with dragon designs. They also sold large tadyaos (clay ~~jars) with a~~ dragon design, used to make wine. Similar Chinese jars are fairly common among many of the primitive groups in the Philippines and are exceedingly costly. No such jars exist in Siaton today.

Sometimes the Chinese merchants fought among themselves. Then the Guardia Civil would tie the offenders' pig-tails together and drag them to jail. One incident was reported of a Chinese father who tried

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[63] In Manjuyod poblacion I visited a Chinese bakery and talked with the owner who said the Chinese from Macao and Canton are usually the bakers in Negros Oriental.

[64] Victor Purcell, The Chinese in Southeast Asia. Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 585.

[65] Cheng suggests two possible derivations of Inchek. First, when the Chinese were asked what was their race they jestingly replied to the questioner: "Their (in) uncle's (chek)." Second, that the Chinese referred to themselves as people of "foreign" (in) "nationality" (chek). Cheng, op. cit., p. 5.

Most barriofolk go to Omanod to work as harvesters while some women and young girls go to barter bread, matches, used American clothing and other wares for corn. These vendors rarely sell their wares for money. They barter for corn, and get more corn than they could if they sold their articles. Sometimes, when the harvest is over, the vendors will sell their remaining merchandise rather than carry it home. Others go to Omanod solely to buy corn for the price is lower than in Siaton poblacion. The people usually stay with relatives or friends in Omanod during the harvest period.

Unhusked corn is usually stored in the house, the ears piled in a corner of the room or in a bin. Corn is not husked until it is ready to be shelled and ground. Lagit stones or sea shells may be put with the corn to protect it from the weevils that often do considerable damage. Perhaps only one out of every twenty families in Caticugan has a separate storehouse for corn. The average family's corn supply is small and consumed steadily so individual storehouses are unnecessary. Storehouses that exist are usually built near the residences, although in a few cases they may be at the field's edge. Theft is rare because many would be afraid to steal corn for fear of barang.[50]

[50] Barang is the belief in the supernatural ability of certain persons to cause illness or death to their enemies. These specialists are said to own magical bees that are trained to penetrate the victim's body at their owner's command. Several cases of deaths allegedly due to barang motivated by thievery were reported by the barriofolk of Caticugan.

palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)[1] shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of $2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from manangguete, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

[1] [this plate (p. 178) is missing]

Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the buri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

March and April, tangkong sells for more than when a larger supply of kalamongay and other vegetables are for sale in the marketplace. When the price is high a small bunch of tangkong sells for five centavos (two and a half cents). When other vegetables are available one may buy three bunches of tangkong for that price.

Sometimes people will come to Barrio Caticugan from the poblacion or nearby barrios to buy tangkong. If they pick the vegetable they are given a cheaper price than if they purchase it from the owner. Normally the owners take their tangkong to the poblacion to sell; but three women and one man sold tangkong from their patches in Barrio Caticugan; the male vendor was a bayute. Vendors do not have much trouble selling tangkong, especially during the hot season when most vegetables are scarce. Tangkong is a good source of vitamins B and G and an excellent source of vitamin C; the leaves are said to have a mild purgative effect.[74]

Owners of tangkong patches sometimes let other vendors sell their greens in the poblacion and split the profits. This is done when the woman owning the tangkong cannot take her vegetables to the market. For example, one young mother, with a new baby, was unable to take her tangkong to the poblacion. She made an arrangement with a neighbor to sell her greens; the owner received a net

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[74] Brown, op. cit., III, p. 258.

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profit of $1.85 from her tangkong patch for one month (June 16 to July 16). By the middle of July tangkong often became so cheap that she fed much of it to the pigs.

The woman who had the largest tangkong patch in Barrio Caticugan kept a record of her sales, at my request, for one month (June 16 to July 16). She sold tangkong in the poblacion twenty days in this period, netting $5.60. During the same period she also sold sixty cents worth of tangkong to persons coming to her patch in the barrio. Her total profit for the month was $6.20. The previous year the same woman said her profit from the sale of tangkong was more than $25. In fact, the young woman and her brother, both unmarried, were building a new house; the neighbors said this was largely financed by the woman's tangkong profits.

Eggplant

Eggplants (talong) are another fairly common vegetable grown in Caticugan. Nearly every family has a few eggplants that bear small fruits. Like most vegetables new eggplants are planted at the beginning of the rainy season; the old stalks are trimmed then so they will produce new fruits. Tomatoes (tamatis) are grown but they are very small and are often sold, or eaten, when they are partly green.

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Other vegetables grown are gourds (upo: Lagenaria leucantha Linn.); green onions (sibuyas bombay); patola

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who could weave skillfully was a more desirable mate than one who could not. Difficulties of obtaining abaca fiber, the cost, and the tedious and time-consuming processes of preparing thread, weaving, and processing the woven fabric--plus the growing satorial sophistication of the young generation--militate against weaving in Caticugan.

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The most recent event that probably has dealt the coup de grace to any increase of abaca weaving for clothing in the future is the sale of used American clothing; the barriofolk speak of this as "relief clothing." After the last war tons of used American clothing were sent to the islands for rehabilitation purposes. Some of the clothing was sold illegally to the people and a new post-war Philippine business was born. Today used American clothing is imported regularly to the Philippines with Cebu City as a distribution center for the Visayas. Agents go to the city to buy the clothing that they later sell in rural areas through Negros.

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Every Sunday in Siaton poblacion Dumaguete vendors came to sell used American cotton and silk dresses, blouses, and children's clothing. At every fiesta I attended there were vendors who had big piles of used American clothing through which the barriofolk hunted for correct sizes. My impression was that most of the clothing was for women or children. As a result a new source of inexpensive clothing competes with abaca garments--and is modifying the barriofolks' mode of dress. T-shirts are replacing the abaca shirt of the past as cotton trousers have already done.

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

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of the 'poblacion', thanks to the deep and abiding interest of congressman.. in the welfare and well-being of the community.

A top government official of Negros Oriental province stated in his message printed in one fiesta program that he would be unable to attend the event because:

> I am leaving for Manila soon in the interest and welfare of our province.

The congressman of one of the districts of Negros Oriental praised a local official in his fiesta message, stating he

> (official's name) ..., is the guiding star that points to me the things needed by this town and hence I can say safely that the improvements and beautification of (the town)... is due mostly to the endeavor and sacrifices of our beloved.... (official's name).

The former Vice-President of the Philippines in his message printed on one fiesta program urged that the people work together because:

> Communal solidarity is necessary for the success of this affair just as national unity is essential for the growth of a nation.... To promote this unity, it is imperative for us to cultivate a community spirit against the factors that cause dissension and disorder among the people—corrupt practices of officials and individuals alike, such as abuse of authority and profiteering practiced by opportunists on the helpless masses. These corruptions can be remedied by the combined efforts on the part of the government authorities and the people.

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The fiestas stimulate local commercial activities. All who can afford it, and many who cannot, buy a new dress or a pair of trousers, clothing for the children, get a permanent wave, or purchase large supplies of food for their expected guests. Some Filipinos will borrow money or mortgage their land in order to have the means to entertain properly their visitors during the annual fiesta. So much personal and family prestige is involved that few measures are too drastic for some to maintain the expected level of hospitality; this is particularly true in the *poblacions*. Frugalities of the year, the penny-pinching to make ends meet, the saving for the unknown exigencies of the future, are discarded by many Filipinos for several days of "fun and frolic," of living fully.

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To the *poblacions* and *barrios*, even such as Caticugan but less so, come many itinerant vendors selling a variety of wares, normally unavaila-

51:Hart E-3 (1950-1952)1954 OA1 Philippines
Central Bisayan OA14

527 443 ble in the local stores. There are rosaries, religious pictures, ice cream, novel candies, etc. This is the time when the girls and women from the *barrios* make great mounds of rice cakes and sell them at the local fiestas, adding the small profit to the family exchequer. Some of the women from Caticugan went as far away as the fiestas of Giliga-on and Bonawon to sell their food, *guhang* (a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented sap of the buri palm), and vegetables. They set up little "cafes" near the fiesta area where one might buy food or drink. Vendors from Dumaguete come to the *barrios*, and particularly the *poblacions*, with their merchandize, establishing their temporary stalls along the roads near the cockpit or gambling area. A lucky catch in a *bonsod* (fish coral) during a *poblacion* fiesta can bring the owner a small fortune overnight.

527 436 The circulation of currency in the *barrios*— where the barter system is still prominent— is at its height during the fiesta. The vendors and gamblers and other activities of the fiesta require money; one cannot barter for a place at the gambling table or for admission to the dance. This is when the bamboo banks are broken and the money used to purchase the necessary fiesta supplies. The fiesta is one of the relatively few occasions (others are weddings, funerals, etc.) when the barriofolk slaughter pigs, goats, cattle and even carabaos. The family "fiesta pig" is killed for *lechon*, having been fattening all year. There is more fish and fresh meat in the market places than at any other time of the year. Young people often go to the city to earn sufficient money to spend during fiesta. The fiesta has become a secular, in ways commercial, enterprise, which requires currency in order for one to participate in many activities. During most of the year, many of the barriofolk in Caticugan earn or spend little money; they barter their way from one need to another need.

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517 181 In summary, the *barrio* or *poblacion* fiesta complex has a variety of functions. *First*, the fiesta is the "big blow-out" of the year, anticipated by young and old for often different reasons. There is a singing gaiety in the air, a lightness of step, and a mood of relaxation in a fiesta-invaded locality. As the writer was once told at a fiesta: "This is the time when 556 'thanks' is redundant." Second, the fiesta affords many persons, particu- 181 larly in the *poblacion*, an opportunity to validate their social position through a conspicious consumption of wealth, a lavish expression of hospitality. This association of hospitality with food may be traced back to the pre-Spanish culture of the Filipinos. Municipal and provincial officials, prominent visitors and other guests, are treated with extravagant courtesy and an overabundance of generosity. *Third*, the fiesta is an econo-